

## Message Text

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SUBJECT: VANCE SPEECH DRAFT

1. SPEECH DRAFT IS AS FOLLOWS: BEGIN TEXT.

IT IS AN HONOR AND PLEASURE TO SPEAK TONIGHT BEFORE THE  
ASIA SOCIETY, A GROUP WHICH OVER THE PAST TWO DECADES HAS  
DONE AN EXTRAORDINARY JOB IN FOSTERING UNDERSTANDING  
BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF ASIA AND THE UNITED STATES. MUCH  
OF THE CREDIT FOR THE ASIA SOCIETY'S ACHIEVEMENTS GOES TO  
ITS FOUNDER, JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER III. HE HAS NOT ONLY

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SHOWN A LONGSTANDING, ACTIVE INTEREST IN THE CULTURES OF  
ASIA, BUT ALSO A CONTINUING CONCERN FOR U.S. ASIAN POLICY.  
INDEED, HIS INVOLVEMENT IN US-ASIAN AFFAIRS DATES BACK TO  
THE TROUBLED YEARS THAT FOLLOWED WORLD WAR II.  
LOOKING BACK ON THE EAST ASIA OF THOSE YEARS, WE MARVEL

AT THE CHANGE. THOSE WERE TIMES WHEN ASIA HELD THE HEAD-  
LINES. THOSE WERE TIMES WHEN THE DANGERS OF THE PRESENT  
AND THE UNCERTAINTIES OF THE FUTURE PREOCCUPIED ASIANS AND  
AMERICANS ALIKE.

THE DISORDER, HARDSHIP, AND ECONOMIC DISLOCATION ASIA  
INHERITED FROM THE LONG AND BITTER YEARS OF WORLD WAR II  
SEEMED ALL TOO LIKELY TO CONTINUE FAR INTO THE FUTURE.

MANY ASIAN PEOPLES HAD BEEN DEPRIVED FOR CENTURIES OF THE  
RIGHT TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN FATES. THEY WERE UNCERTAIN,  
OFTEN DEEPLY DIVIDED, AS THEY SOUGHT TO ESTABLISH THEIR  
NATIONAL IDENTITIES, THEIR OWN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH THEY MADE THIS EFFORT  
COULD NOT HAVE BEEN MORE THREATENING: NO COUNTRY COULD

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INSULATE ITSELF FROM BIPOLAR CONFRONTATION; STRUGGLES  
BETWEEN GREAT POWERS MAGNIFIED LOCAL DIFFERENCES AND  
CONFLICTS; THE PROSPECT THAT MANKIND MIGHT SOON DESTROY  
ITSELF IN NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST WAS A NEVER ABSENT CONCERN.

REPORTING ON THE REGION AND ITS PROSPECTS IN THE LATE  
1940S, HAROLD ISAACS CALLED HIS PERCEPTIVE STUDY "NO  
PEACE FOR ASIA." FOR ALL TOO LONG THEREAFTER A MORE  
DESCRIPTIVE TITLE COULD NOT HAVE BEEN DEVISED.

HOW DIFFERENT IS THE EAST ASIA OF TODAY. IT IS AN ASIA  
AT PEACE. IT EPITOMIZES THE MOST HOPEFUL DEVELOPMENT OF  
THIS DECADE, THE MORE STABLE EQUILIBRIUM OF GREAT POWER  
INTERESTS. EAST ASIA IS A SECURELY INDEPENDENT COMMUNITY

OF NATIONS, INCREASINGLY BOUND TOGETHER BY COOPERATIVE  
ENDEAVORS AND REGIONAL INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE ASIAN  
DEVELOPMENT BANK AND THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN  
NATIONS. IT IS A COMMUNITY WHERE A STRONG AND DYNAMIC  
JAPAN IS NO LONGER ISOLATED BY THE INHERITED RESENTMENTS  
OF THE PACIFIC WAR, A COMMUNITY THAT NOW INCLUDES

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AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND, ONCE LONELY OUTPOSTS OF EUROPE.  
IT IS AN ASIA WHERE IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES, HOWEVER GREAT,  
ARE CEASING TO BE A BARRIER TO PEACEFUL RELATIONS. AND IT  
IS A REGION MARKED BY SPECTACULAR ECONOMIC GROWTH.  
EVEN TODAY ON BOTH SIDES OF THE PACIFIC, THE FEARS AND  
EMOTIONS OF EARLIER YEARS STILL COLOR OUR PERCEPTIONS.  
AMERICANS ASK--NOW THAT WE HAVE AT LAST  
EXTRICATED OURSELVES FROM WAR IN ASIA, WHERE DO OUR REAL  
INTERESTS LIE? ASIANS ASK--NOW THAT THE AMERICAN MILITARY  
PRESENCE HAS DECLINED FROM THE HIGH LEVEL OF RECENT YEARS,  
HAS THE UNITED STATES ABANDONED US, TURNED AWAY FROM OUR  
PROBLEMS AND CONCERNS?

THE ANSWER COULD NOT BE MORE CLEAR. NOW, AS ALWAYS,  
ASIA IS AN AREA OF DEEP CONCERN TO THE UNITED STATES.  
OUR SHORES, LIKE ITS SHORES, ARE WASHED BY THE PACIFIC.  
OUR PEACE IS AS IRREVOCABLY LINKED TO PEACE IN ASIA AS IT  
IS TO PEACE IN EUROPE. OUR SECURITY TREATIES ARE VITAL  
EXPRESSIONS OF THE INTERESTS WE SHARE WITH OUR ASIAN AND

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PACIFIC ALLIES. OUR TRADE AND INVESTMENT ARE STILL  
ANOTHER AND GROWING MANIFESTATION OF OUR ENDURING PRESENCE.  
ROUGHLY ONE QUARTER OF ALL OUR TRADE IS NOW CONDUCTED  
WITH EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC. INDEED, FOR THE LAST FIVE  
YEARS MORE OF OUR TRADE HAS BEEN CARRIED ON WITH THAT  
REGION THAN WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. IN 1976, WE SOLD  
AMERICAN GOODS WORTH \$22 BILLION TO COUNTRIES IN THE AREA,  
WITH AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS CONSTITUTING A LARGE SHARE.  
AMERICAN INDUSTRY AND AMERICAN CONSUMERS ABSORBED \$31  
BILLION WORTH OF ASIA'S PRODUCTS; MANUFACTURED GOODS  
PRODUCED BY SKILLFUL AND INDUSTRIOUS PEOPLES, VIRTUALLY  
ALL OF OUR RUBBER, TIN, AND COCONUT OIL AND SUBSTANTIAL  
QUANTITIES OF OTHER RAW MATERIALS. AMERICAN PRIVATE  
INVESTMENT, RELATIVELY NEW IN THE REGION, IS NOW MORE  
THAN 10 OF TOTAL AMERICAN INVESTMENT ABROAD.  
THE GROWTH OF OUR OWN ECONOMIC STAKE IN ASIA REFLECTS  
THE VITALITY AND PROSPERITY OF THE PACIFIC BASIN  
ECONOMY. THE ECONOMIC MIRACLE OF JAPAN, OUR SECOND-

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LARGEST TRADING PARTNER, IS WELL KNOWN. REMARKABLE  
ADVANCES HAVE ALSO BEEN MADE ELSEWHERE. IN 1976, FOR  
EXAMPLE, THE ECONOMIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, OF MALAY-  
SIA, AND OF TAIWAN EXPANDED BY OVER 10 , THAT OF INDONESIA

BY 7.5 , THAT OF THE PHILIPPINES BY 6 .

WHAT MUST THE UNITED STATES AND THE COUNTRIES OF THE EAST  
ASIA/PACIFIC REGION DO TO FOSTER CONTINUING GROWTH AND  
VITALITY? HOW CAN WE MAINTAIN PRESENT LEVELS OF STABILITY,  
CONTAIN POTENTIAL THREATS, PREVENT NEW DANGERS FROM DEVELO-  
PING? HOW CAN WE STRENGTHEN TIES WITH OLD FRIENDS WHILE  
SEEKING A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH FORMER ADVERSAIRES? HOW  
CAN WE SPREAD THE BENEFITS OF DEVELOPMENT TO THE MANY WHO  
STILL LIVE IN POVERTY, WIN THE RACE BETWEEN RESOURCES AND  
POPULATION, ALLEVIATE THE DEPRIVATIONS THAT BREED CRIME  
AND INSURGENCY, OFFER FULLER AND MORE SATISFYING EMPLOYMENT  
TO THE YOUNG? HOW CAN THE UNITED STATES MESH DOMESTIC  
NEEDS FOR JOBS AND MARKETS WITH SIMILAR NEEDS ELSEWHERE,  
KEEPING ALWAYS IN MIND, IN THE WORDS OF THE DOWNING STREET

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COMMUNIQUE THAT "THE WELL-BEING OF THE DEVELOPED AND THE  
DEVELOPING NATIONS ARE BOUND UP TOGETHER"? HOW CAN WE  
AMERICANS WORK WITH THE COUNTRIES OF EAST ASIA AND THE  
PACIFIC TO ENSURE A BETTER ADJUSTMENT BETWEEN THE DESIRE  
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE NEED TO PROTECT DEVELOPING SOCIE-  
TIES AGAINST THREATS TO THEIR STABILITY AND FURTHER PRO-  
GRESS?

AMERICAN ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS WILL DO MUCH TO  
SHAPE THE FUTURE. IF THEY ARE TO SHAPE IT CONSTRUCTIVELY,  
THEY MUST ARISE FROM A CONSISTENT AND STEADY VISION OF  
OUR OBLIGATIONS AND OUR OPPORTUNITIES--A VISION THAT IS

SHARED AND SUPPORTED BY THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, BY THE  
CONGRESS, AND BY OUR CITIZENRY. THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA  
AND THE PACIFIC MUST KNOW WHAT TO EXPECT FROM US AND,  
BECAUSE OURS IS A RELATIONSHIP OF EQUALS, WHAT WE EXPECT  
FROM THEM.

THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE IS A TASK GREAT POWERS AND  
SMALL MUST SHARE. WE ARE ALL NEIGHBORS WHO MUST DEAL WITH

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EACH OTHER FAIRLY, OPENLY, AND WITH FULL RECOGNITION OF  
EACH OTHER'S SOVEREIGN RIGHTS. THE FOUR GREAT POWERS OF  
THE PACIFIC, THE UNITED STATES, THE USSR, CHINA AND JAPAN  
MUST PURSUE THEIR INTERESTS WITHOUT INFRINGING ON THE  
INTERESTS OF OTHERS OR INTERFERING IN THEIR INTERNAL  
AFFAIRS. RESTRAINT AND BALANCE IN GREAT POWER RELATIONS  
ARE A NECESSARY CONDITION FOR THE PEACE OF THE REGION AS A  
WHOLE.

THE UNITED STATES WILL PLAY ITS PART IN PRESERVING THIS  
BALANCE. WE WILL WORK CLOSELY WITH OUR ALLIES AND OLD  
FRIENDS TO ENSURE THAT OUR SECURITY POLICIES ARE COMPATI-  
BLE AND MUTUALLY SUPPORTIVE. WE WILL MAINTAIN THE FUNDA-  
MENTAL STRENGTH OF OUR PACIFIC DEFENSE FORCES; IN THIS VAST  
AREA OUR FLEET IS A PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF OUR  
PRESENCE. OUR MILITARY PRESENCE WILL INEVITABLY BE SHAPED  
BY NEW TECHNOLOGIES, IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CAPABILITIES OF  
OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES, AND CHANGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL

CLIMATE. WE LOOK FORWARD TO FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD

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PEACE AND RECONCILIATION THROUGHOUT THE AREA. CHANGING  
CIRCUMSTANCES, HOWEVER, WILL IN NO WAY LESSEN OUR DETER-  
MINATION TO FULFILL OUR SECURITY COMMITMENTS AND TO MAIN-  
TAIN A FORCE STRUCTURE ADEQUATELY MANNED AND POSITIONSED  
FOR THIS PURPOSE.

THE SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA HAS ALTERED  
MARKEDLY. ITS ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS ARE STRIKING. THE  
MORALE OF ITS PEOPLE IS HIGH. ITS ARMED FORCES ARE STRONG,  
DISCIPLINED, AND WELL-TRAINED. WE ARE THUS ABLE TO PLAN  
WITH CONFIDENCE FOR A CAREFULLY PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF  
AMERICAN GROUND FORCES. OUR COMMITMENT TO THE REPUBLIC OF  
KOREA IS FIRM. WE WILL MAINTAIN OUR AIR PRESENCE AND OUR  
NAVAL AND OTHER SUPPORT AS LONG AS THEY ARE REQUIRED  
FOR DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE. AND WE ARE WORKING CLOSELY  
WITH THE KOREANS IN SUPPORT OF THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF  
THEIR OWN DEFENSE CAPABILITIES.

OUR RESOLVE TO PROTECT PEACE IN ASIA IS UNDIMINISHED.

BUT WE MUST ALSO STRENGTHEN IT; WE MUST CONTINUE OUR

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EFFORTS TO MOVE AWAY FROM THE ENMITIES OF THE PAST.

OUR EFFORTS TO REDUCE TENSIONS WITH THE USSR ARE IMPORTANT

FOR GLOBAL PEACE AND FOR ASIAN PEACE AS WELL. IN ASIA

ITSELF, THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA HAVE TAKEN IMPORTANT  
STEPS TOWARD NORMALIZATION; THE UNITED STATES HAS ALSO  
MADE CLEAR TO VIETNAM AND TO NORTH KOREA OUR INTEREST IN  
ESTABLISHING CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH WE COULD MOVE FORWARD  
ALONG THIS SAME PATH.

THE KOREAN PENINSULA REMAINS AN AREA OF UNCERTAINTY,  
AN AREA WHERE CONFLICT COULD THREATEN THE PEACE OF ASIA.  
WE WILL HONOR OUR COMMITMENT TO DEFEND SOUTH  
KOREA AND WE WILL HELP IMPROVE STILL FURTHER THE STRENGTH  
OF ITS ARMED FORCES. BUT THE UNITED STATES SHARES SOUTH  
KOREA'S STRONG DESIRE TO ESTABLISH A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR  
MAINTAINING PEACE AND STABILITY ON THE PENINSULA. THE  
UNITED STATES HAS SUPPORTED THE ENTRY OF NORTH AND SOUTH  
KOREA INTO THE UNITED NATIONS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO ULTIMATE  
REUNIFICATION. WE HAVE PROPOSED NEGOTIATIONS TO DEVELOP

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A NEW LEGAL BASIS FOR THE EXISTING ARMISTICE OR TO REPLACE  
IT WITH MORE PERMANENT ARRANGEMENTS. WE HAVE OFFERED TO  
MEET FOR THIS PURPOSE WITH SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA AND THE  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. WE HAVE EXPRESSED OUR WILLING-  
NESS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH NORTH KOREA IF ITS ALLIES  
ARE PREPARED TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE SOUTH. BUT, WE  
REPEAT, WE WILL ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE FUTURE OF  
THE PENINSULA ONLY IN CONCERT WITH THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA.  
THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE UNITED STATES AND ASIA TO  
FOCUS OUR ENERGIES EVEN MORE SHARPLY ON ECONOMIC GROWTH.



THE OPPORTUNITIES ARE GREAT. THE FOUNDATIONS HAVE BEENQ  
LAID. THE DETERMINATION IS STRONG. OUR CONTRIBUTION HAS  
ALREADY HAD A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT. PRIMARILY THROUGH AID  
IN THE PAST, IT IS NOW PRIMARILY THROUGH TRADE AND INVEST-  
MENT. BUT WE CANNOT REST ON WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN  
ACCOMPLISHED. CONTINUED ECONOMIC PROGRESS IS ESSENTIAL  
TO PROVIDE EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES AND THE NECESSITIES OF  
LIFE TO GROWING POPULATIONS; IT IS THE UNDERPINNING OF

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WHAT OUR ASEAN FRIENDS SO APTLY DESCRIBE AS NATIONAL  
RESILIENCE. ACCESS TO MARKETS IS INDISPENSABLE TO  
ECONOMIC ADVANCE. AND, AS EAST ASIA MOVES FORWARD, WE IN  
THE UNITED STATES WILL FIND MORE MARKETS, GREATER OPPORTU-  
NITIES FOR INVESTMENT, AND A WIDER SELECTION OF CONSUMER  
GOODS.

A LIBERAL TRADING SYSTEM IS VITAL TO THE WELL-BEING AND  
GROWTH OF DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ALIKE.  
WE FAVOR THE LOWERING OF IMPORT BARRIERS AND WE WILL  
RESIST PROTECTIONIST PRESSURES. WE WILL STRIVE FOR AN  
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM THAT FACILITATES THE TIMELY  
AND EQUITABLE ADJUSTMENT OF CONFLICTING INTERESTS.  
AS MAJOR EXPORTERS AS WELL AS CONSUMERS OF PRIMARY  
PRODUCTS, AMERICANS TOO ARE UNFAVORABLY AFFECTED BY  
EXCESSIVE FLUCTUATIONS IN SUPPLY AND PRICES. WE SUPPORT  
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BUFFER STOCKS OF SELECTED COMMODITIES,

FINANCED BY PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS AND BACKED BY A

COMMON FUND: SUCH ACTION CAN HELP STABILIZE EXPORT

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EARNINGS, GUARANTEE SUPPLIES, AND ENCOURAGE INVESTMENT.

MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE ALSO TO TRANSFER RESOURCE TECHNOLOGY

TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THE WELL-BEING OF THE PLANET

DICTATES SPECIAL ATTENTION TO TECHNOLOGIES THAT WILL IN-

CREASE FOOD AND ENERGY SUPPLIES.

ACCESS TO FINANCIAL RESOURCES IS AS IMPORTANT FOR DEVE-

LOPING COUNTRIES AS ACCESS TO MARKETS. WE FAVOR SUBSTAN-

TIAL INCREASES IN THE CAPITALIZATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL

FUNDING INSTITUTIONS. THE ADB, ESTABLISHED AT ASIAN INITI-

ATIVE, IS PARTICULARLY VALUABLE FOR THE REGION. RECOGNI-

ZING THIS, PRESIDENT CARTER HAS RECOMMENDED TO THE

CONGRESS AN INCREASE IN THE US SUBSCRIPTION TO THE BANK'S

CAPITALIZATION AND A CONTRIBUTION TO ITS DEVELOPMENT FUND.

IN ADDITION, WE WANT TO EXPLORE WITH OTHERS CONCERNED NEW

WAYS TO EXPAND THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ADB AND OTHER INTER-

NATIONAL FUNDING INSTITUTIONS IN SUPPORT OF REGIONAL

COOPERATION, ESPECIALLY THROUGH ASEAN-SPONSORED PROJECTS.

BUT OFFICIAL RESOURCES WILL NEVER BE ADEQUATE TO FILL

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REQUIREMENTS FOR CAPITAL, TECHNOLOGY, AND MANAGERIAL

SKILLS. SUBSTANTIAL PRIVATE INVESTMENT IS ALSO NEEDED.

WE ARE WORKING TO REDUCE THE DISCRIMINATION THAT EXISTS  
IN MANY COUNTRIES AGAINST FOREIGN BORROWERS AND BOND  
SELLERS. RECIPROCITY IS THE KEY TO A FLOURISHING RELATION-  
SHIP BETWEEN FOREIGN LENDERS AND BORROWING COUNTRIES.  
BORROWING COUNTRIES REQUIRE RESPECT FOR THEIR SOVEREIGNTY  
AND LAWS. FOREIGN LENDERS NEED A NON-DISCRIMINATORY  
CLIMATE AND REASONABLE EXPECTATIONS FOR PROFIT.  
IT IS A TRIBUTE TO EAST ASIA'S ECONOMIC PROGRESS THAT  
MOST OF THE INCREASED AID THE CONGRESS IS NOW CONSIDERING  
WILL GO TO OTHER REGIONS OF THE WORLD. NEVERTHELESS, AID,  
PARTICULARLY IN SUPPORT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY,  
REMAINS A TOOL OF AMERICAN POLICY IN ASIA.

ON ALL OF THESE ISSUES, WE WILL CONTINUE TO COOPERATE  
CLOSELY WITH JAPAN. WE MUST CONTINUE TO MAKE CERTAIN  
THAT OUR INTERDEPENDENT ECONOMIES MESH SMOOTHLY, THAT  
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US ARE EQUITABLY ADJUSTED. WE MUST

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WORK TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE THE GLOBAL OBJECTIVES OF THE  
LONDON SUMMIT CONFERENCE. AS LEADERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL  
WORLD, WE HAVE PARTICULAR RESPONSIBILITIES FOR ACHIEVING  
STABILITY IN INTERNATIONAL PAYMENTS, HELPING TO STIMULATE  
RECOVERY WITHOUT INFLATION, MAINTAINING AND ENLARGING  
OPEN MARKETS, AND CONTRIBUTING TO PROGRESS IN NORTH-SOUTH  
RELATIONS. AS PACIFIC POWERS, WE HAVE PARTICULAR RESPON-  
SIBILITIES IN ASIA WHERE WE ARE THE REGION'S PRINCIPAL  
SUPPLIERS, MARKETS, AND BANKERS. THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA

AND THE PACIFIC HAVE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS IN RETAINING A  
FAIR SHARE OF THE REVENUES GENERATED BY FOREIGN INVESTMENT,  
DIVERSIFYING THEIR ECONOMIES, FINDING MARKETS FOR THEIR  
MANUFACTURES AS WELL AS FOR THEIR RAW MATERIALS, AND  
SHAPING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN WAYS THAT WILL MAXIMIZE  
EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES, ADVANCE MANAGERIAL AND TECHNICAL  
SKILLS, AND RAISE TECHNOLOGICAL LEVELS. THE UNITED STATES  
AND JAPAN MUST RECOGNIZE THESE INTERESTS AND SHAPE THEIR  
POLICIES ACCORDINGLY.

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ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT HAS BROUGHT TO LARGE NUMBERS OF  
PEOPLE THE "EXISTENCE WORTHY OF HUMAN DIGNITY...THE  
STANDARD OF LIVING ADEQUATE FOR...HEALTH AND WELL-BEING...  
THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION" CALLED FOR IN THE UNIVERSAL  
DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. YET POVERTY REMAINS; TOO  
MANY CHILDREN ARE BORN INTO A LIFE THAT OFFERS LITTLE OR  
NO PROMISE FOR THE FUTURE. OUR OWN HERITAGE REQUIRES US  
TO HELP EXTEND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY STILL FURTHER.  
OUR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IS PRIMARILY DIRECTED TOWARD PRO-  
GRAMS THAT WILL HELP PROVIDE SUCH OPPORTUNITY, EXPECIALLY  
FOR THE RURAL POOR.  
BUT OUR OWN HERITAGE ALSO REQUIRES US TO BE STRONGLY  
CONCERNED WITH OTHER RIGHTS JUST AS FUNDAMENTAL TO HUMAN  
DIGNITY--THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE EQUALLY IN GOVERNMENT  
AND ITS DECISIONS, TO VOICE OPINIONS FREELY, TO SEEK

PEACEFUL CHANGE, TO LIVE UNDER A RULE OF LAW THAT PROTECTS

AGAINST CRUEL, ARBITRARY, AND DEGRADING TREATMENT.

WE RECOGNIZE THE OBSTACLES IN MANY COUNTRIES OF ASIA TO

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REACHING STANDARDS WE HAVE OFTEN FAILED TO REACH OURSELVES.

OUR POLITICAL TRADITION AND OUR PHILOSOPHIC AND RELIGIOUS

HERITAGE STRESS THE INDIVIDUAL'S RIGHTS AND WELFARE.

THE ASIAN TRADITION STRESSES THE RIGHTS AND WELFARE OF THE

GROUP. WE MOVED GRADUALLY INTO TODAY'S COMPLEX SOCIETY

WITH ITS UNREMITTING AND DIFFICULT DEMANDS FOR MANAGING

COMPETING INTERESTS AND INTERLOCKING PROBLEMS. ASIAN

COUNTRIES HAVE HAD TO MOVE AT FORCED DRAFT PACE.

WE UNDERSTAND THESE DIFFERENCES AND PROBLEMS. WE RECOG-

NIZE AND APPLAUD THE DETERMINATION OF ASIAN COUNTRIES TO

PRESERVE RIGHTS, WON AT GREAT COST, TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN

POLICIES AND ESTABLISH THEIR OWN INSTITUTIONS. BUT WE

BELIEVE THAT IN THE ASIA I HAVE DESCRIBED TODAY--A CONTI-

NENT AT PEACE, THE HOME OF GIFTED AND CAPABLE PEOPLES

SECURE IN THEIR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE--IN THIS NEW ASIA,

THERE ARE NEW AND GREATER OPPORTUNITIES FOR IMPROVING THE

HUMAN CONDITION. WE PROPOSE TO DO WHAT WE CAN, WITH

VIGILANCE AND DETERMINATION, TO ENCOURAGE OUR ASIAN

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FRIENDS TO GRASP THESE OPPORTUNITIES.

WE MUST ENSURE THAT THE OPPORTUNITIES CREATED BY THE  
RETURN OF PEACE ARE ENLARGED BY THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE.

THE UNITED STATES WILL REMAIN AN IMPORTANT PRESENCE IN  
ASIA BECAUSE ASIA IS IMPORTANT TO THE UNITED STATES.

WE WILL ADJUST OUR POLICIES TO MEET NEW CIRCUMSTANCES.

BUT WE WILL NOT ALTER OR ABANDON THE BASIC PRINCIPLES ON  
WHICH THEY REST. WE WILL REMAIN FIRM IN OUR SECURITY

COMMITMENTS. WE WILL MAINTAIN THE FORCES AND POSITIONS  
NECESSARY TO CARRY OUT THESE COMMITMENTS. BUT THIS IS NOT  
ENOUGH. WE MUST MOVE FORWARD. WE WILL PERSIST IN

EFFORTS TO HEAL THE WOUNDS OF THE PAST, WITHOUT ABANDON-  
ING OUR OBLIGATIONS OR DEVIATING FROM OUR PRINCIPLES.

WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXPAND OUR DIALOGUE WITH OLD FRIENDS.

WE WILL BE SENSITIVE TO THEIR INTERESTS AND OPEN TO THEIR

VIEWS. ALL OF US WHO FORM THE COMMUNITY OF THE PACIFIC

MUST WORK TOGETHER TO BUILD UPON WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN

ACCOMPLISHED, TO ERECT IN THIS GREAT AREA AN EDIFICE OF

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PEACE, FREEDOM, AND PROSPERITY THAT WILL BE A MODEL FOR

THE WORLD. END TEXT.

VANCE

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